

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 097680
ORIGIN EUR-12

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C:RHOPPER
D/HA:KHILL
S/S:MR. SEBASTIAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 097680

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: FURTHER POLADS WORK ON CSCE/BELGRADE

REF: A) STATE 87324; B) USNATO 2402

1. NOW THAT NATO WORK ON CM(77)29 HAS BEEN COMPLETED,
WE BELIEVE POLADS SHOULD MOVE ON QUICKLY TO FURTHER
PROJECTS WHICH ARE REQUIRED IN PREPARATION FOR BELGRADE.
CM(77)29 FORMS AN EXCELLENT BASIS FOR THIS FURTHER EFFORT.

2. ACCORDINGLY, AT NEXT SUITABLE OCCASION, YOU SHOULD
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PAGE 02 STATE 097680

URGE THAT POLADS NOW CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS IN PRE-
PARATION FOR BELGRADE ON THREE MAJOR WORK AREAS, AS OUT-
LINED BELOW:

(A) DRAFT PAPER ON AGENDA, OPENING DATE, DURATION, AND
MODALITIES FOR THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING, TO BE TABLED
AT THE OPENING OF THE BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING. WE

CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE WEST MAKE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THESE ISSUES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING, IN ORDER TO AVOID LONG THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS, PREEMPT ANY SOVIET MOVES TO DISCUSS "POLITICAL CONCEPT" OF BELGRADE MEETING, AND TO CONCENTRATE THE MEETING IMMEDIATELY ON PRACTICAL

ISSUES. WE ALSO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO COVER ALL THE ISSUES WITHIN THE MANDATE OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING IN A SINGLE PAPER (SEE REF A), IF THIS IS POSSIBLE. WE WOULD ENVISAGE A DRAFT DOCUMENT INCLUDING A SECTION ON AGENDA (TAKEN FROM PARA 72 OF CM(77)29), OPENING DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING, DURATION OF THE MAIN MEETING (BASED ON PARA 76 OF CM(77)29) AND MODALITIES FOR THE MAIN MEETING (BASED ON EARLIER FRG DRAFT, AS REVISED IN LIGHT OF COMMENTS BY OTHER DELEGATIONS). AS A LESS DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE, WE COULD FORESEE TABLING OF SEPARATE DRAFT DOCUMENTS ON EACH OF THESE ISSUES BY DIFFERENT ALLIES. HOWEVER, WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO PIN DOWN LANGUAGE OF EACH SECTION AND TO IDENTIFY WHICH COUNTRY WILL TABLE THE DRAFT OR DRAFTS, PRIOR TO JUNE 15.

(B) EXPANSION OF THEMES TO BE USED DURING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. A GOOD START HAS BEEN MADE IN DIRECTION OF IDENTIFYING THEMES TO BE USED DURING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION TO DIFFERENTIATE WESTERN PRACTICES IN CSCE SUBJECT AREAS FROM THOSE OF COMMUNIST STATES. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE FURTHER WORK IS REQUIRED IN THIS AREA AND THAT A MORE RIGOROUS INTELLECTUAL FOCUS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 097680

BEAR IN ORDER TO BRING OUT AND STRENGTHEN THE CONCEPTS AND ARGUMENTS WHICH CAN BE USED DURING WHAT WE ANTICIPATE WILL BE A DEMANDING COMPARISON BETWEEN THE IDEOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL APPROACHES OF WESTERN SOCIETIES AND THE COMMUNIST SYSTEMS. THIS WORK IS A LONGER-TERM EFFORT, SINCE ITS RESULTS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE NEEDED UNTIL THE MAIN MEETING, BUT IT REQUIRES MORE THOUGHT AND A MORE CAREFUL DRAFTING EFFORT.

(C) IDENTIFICATION OF THE LIMITED NUMBER OF "NEW PROPOSALS" TO BE ADVANCED OR SUPPORTED BY THE WEST DURING THE MAIN MEETING. WE FIND THE EC-9 PAPER ON NEW PROPOSALS (REF B) A VERY INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION ON THIS SUBJECT, AND AGREE WITH ITS PRINCIPAL THESIS, THAT "NEW" PROPOSALS SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO REMEDY GAPS IN IMPLEMENTATION, OR TO FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION, OF EXISTING FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS. WE BELIEVE PROPOSALS WHICH WE HAVE ADVANCED FIT THIS CRITERION AND COULD BE ADAPTED PRESENTATIONALLY TO CONFORM MORE CLOSELY TO THE

IDEA OF IMPROVING IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING COMMITMENTS. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND EC-9 PAPER'S STATEMENT THAT "IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST TO DEVISE, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FINAL ACT, A SUFFICIENTLY LARGE AND DIVERSIFIED NUMBER OF PROPOSALS TO ENABLE THE WEST TO MAINTAIN THE INITIATIVE IN ALL OF THE BASKETS." WE

BELIEVE ON THE CONTRARY, THAT THE LONG LIST OF POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE ANNEX TO CM(77)29 DEMONSTRATES THAT WE ALREADY HAVE AN AMPLE NUMBER OF IDEAS FOR NEW PROPOSALS (WE ALSO ASSUME EC-9 ARE CONSIDERING A LIST OF NEW BASKET II PROPOSALS WHICH ARE NOT YET REFLECTED IN THIS ANNEX). WE BELIEVE THIS SITUATION CLEARLY SHOWS THAT THE REAL CHALLENGE WILL BE TO CUT DOWN AND REFINED THIS LIST, TO EXERCISE SELF-RESTRAINT IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF NEW PROPOSALS, AND TO TABLE ONLY A VERY LIMITED NUMBER OF REALLY WORTHWHILE PROPOSALS IN BELGRADE. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 STATE 097680

WE ASSUME THAT THE NUMBER OF PROPOSALS FROM THE NEUTRALS (AND POSSIBLY THE EAST) WILL ALSO BE LENGTHY, AND THIS FACTOR ADDS TO THE IMPORTANCE AND URGENCY OF ESTABLISHING PRIORITIES AMONG THE IDEAS WHICH NOW EXIST AND BEGINNING TO PARE THEM DOWN TO A MORE MANAGEABLE LIST. GIVEN OUR EMPHASIS ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS MAIN FEATURE OF BELGRADE MEETING, AND DESIRE OF SOME ALLIES TO SET A TARGET DURATION FOR THE MEETING, IT WOULD APPEAR NECESSARY TO CUT DOWN EXISTING LIST OF NEW PROPOSALS.

3. WE ARE AWARE THAT PREPARATIONS FOR LONDON MINISTERIAL MAY CAUSE AN UNAVOIDABLE HIATUS IN POLADS WORK ON CSCE. HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD URGE THAT, GIVEN THE BRIEF TIME AVAILABLE BEFORE JUNE 15, POLADS GET TO WORK, AT LEAST ON ITEM (A) ABOVE, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

CHRISTOPHER

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